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THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. CIX.

NOVEMBER 1884.

Vol. X.

THE LOVAT PEERAGE CASE.

By the EDITOR.

THIS case is now in a fair way of being launched in the Law Courts. It promises to be very curious and interesting. Recently a commission, granted by the Court of Session, on the motion of the Claimant, has been taking evidence in Inverness and Beauly from persons over seventy years of age, and, as we write, a similar commission is doing the same thing in Wales. The *London Times*, in a recent article, called forth by these facts, says that "of all those who have sought to prove their right to a title none presents a more wonderful story than the Claimant to the Lovat peerage and estates. Most contests as to peerages are plain prose compared with the singular romance which he unfolds." Having broadly stated the claims and contentions of the Claimant, the article proceeds—"Many strange consequences would follow from this narrative if true. One would be that the only Lord Lovat known to history—the master intriguer, the Mr Facing Bothways, who out-manceuvred himself at last, and lost his head on Tower Hill in 1747—was not Lord Lovat, but an impostor, and that the rightful bearer of the title was then an obscure Welsh miner. The Crown restored the estates to the son of the attainted rebel. After his death there were various vicissitudes connected with the devolution of the estates and the title; and in 1854 the attainer of the famous Simon, Lord Lovat, was removed by an Act of Parliament. The general result of the changes is, according to

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the Claimant, that both the title and estates have been handed over to a branch of the family more remotely connected with the true stock than the present Claimant. Such are the outlines of the story which is being investigated at the instance of the Court of Session at Amlwch. What element of truth there is in it, what legal objections may stand in the way of a claim which has its root in far distant events, or how far it is in conflict with the decision of the Committee for Privileges as to the Lovat peerage claim, need not be discussed. But the whole story is interesting as an illustration of the fact that long possession is not a perfect security against the title to a great name being called in question." Such a claim, whatever may be the ultimate result—a claim in which a historical Highland title, valuable estates, and varied interests are involved, must prove interesting to every Highlander, wherever located, and the case has now reached a point at which—considering the general character of this periodical—so largely historical and genealogical—we shall be expected to present the reader with its general outlines, so far as we know them, without, of course, at the present stage, indicating any opinion on the merits.

It is unnecessary to go back into the earlier history of the Lovat family ; for no differences of opinion or interest arise between the parties, so far as we can trace, until the end of the seventeenth century, though the present claim to the estates rests on a Crown charter, granted to Hugh, fifth Lord Lovat, and his heirs male, dated the 26th of March 1539.

The estates appear, however, to have been held by the Frasers at least as early as 1416, when they are found in possession of Hugh, first Lord Lovat, who was succeeded by four Lords Hugh, in succession, the last of whom obtained charters of confirmation from several superiors from whom he held portions of his estates, and then, according to a prevalent custom of the time, resigned the whole in favour of James V., on the 26th of March 1539, receiving from the King, immediately afterwards, the charter dated in that year, and already mentioned, by which all the land and baronies resigned were united into a free barony, to be thereafter called the Barony of Lovat. The destination is "to our cousin Hugh, Lord Lovat, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, whom failing, to his

lawful and nearest heirs male whatsoever, bearing the arms, surname, and crest of Fraser; whom failing to his heirs whomsoever, in fee and heritage, and free barony for ever." Those acquainted with the history of this family of the Frasers are aware that on the death of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, without surviving male issue, in 1696, his eldest daughter, Amelia, who had married Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall, secured a decision of the Court of Session in her favour, in the absence of any appearance on behalf of the male heirs, whereupon she assumed the title of Lovat. This decision was afterwards reversed in favour of Simon Fraser of Lovat, on the 30th of July 1730, as heir male, in terms of the charter of 1539. Both the Claimant and the present possessor are agreed that the succession is to male heirs, otherwise both would have been long ago excluded, and the estates and titles would in 1696 have finally gone to the descendants of Amelia Fraser, wife of Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall.

The next question which arises is, Who was the legitimate male heir of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat? Here, again, both parties are agreed. Hugh, the ninth Lord, had issue, nine sons, (1), Simon, who predeceased his father, at the age of nineteen, without issue; (2), Hugh, who succeeded as tenth Baron and whose male issue terminated in Hugh, the eleventh Lord Lovat; (3), THOMAS, who, born in 1631, and died in 1697-8, married Sybilla, daughter of Macleod of Macleod, with issue, according to the family history—six sons and several daughters. The issue of the ninth Lord, other than the three here named, are admitted on all hands to have died young. The third son, Thomas, in 1696, succeeded to the title and estates, on the death of his grand-nephew, the eleventh Lord. His right to have so succeeded is fully admitted by both the Claimant and the present possessor, and the question in dispute arises in connection with his issue by Sybilla Macleod of Macleod. He died in 1698, having been in possession only two years. According to Anderson's History of the family of Lovat, he had the following issue:—

- 1, *Alexander* [the alleged ancestor of the present Claimant.]
- 2, *Simon*, beheaded on Tower Hill in 1747.
- 3, Hugh; (4), John; (5), Thomas; and (6), James; all of whom died unmarried; (7), Isabel; (8), Sybilla; and six others, who died in infancy.

The same writer, on the authority of *Lovat's Memoirs*, written by Simon himself, says that "in consequence of his father's accession to the honours of his race, Simon, the eldest surviving son, by the decease of his brother Alexander, who died in the 25th year of his age, took upon him the style of Master of Lovat" during his father's lifetime. On the death of the latter, "Alexander, eldest son of Thomas of Beaufort, had he been alive," the same authority informs us, "would now become the representative of the family. He predeceased his father," he continues, "some time before the year 1692. He seems to have been a young man of a daring spirit. When Viscount Dundee raised the standard for King James, in 1689, he was one of the first to join him. A dispute having arisen at a funeral at Beaulieu, near Inverness, he killed a man, and, dreading the effects of his passion, fled to Wales, where he died without issue." The authority quoted by Mr Anderson for all this is Simon, Lord Lovat himself, who, he informs us, "speaks of but his elder brother, Alexander, and his younger brother, John," which, he continues, "may be attributed to the early deaths of the remainder." There seems to be no doubt at all that Thomas of Beaufort had a son Alexander, and that he was the eldest son. If, as has always been maintained by the present family and the descendants of Simon of the 'Forty-five, he died before his father, without male issue, there is an end of the contention of the present claimant, who does not dispute, we believe, the legitimate succession of Simon's two sons who ruled in succession at Beaufort Castle until his male heirs became extinct, on the death of his third son, Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat (who survived all the male issue of his marriage), in 1815. When Thomas Alexander Fraser of Strichen, father of the present Lord, succeeded to the Lovat estates, as the eldest son of Alexander of Strichen, he having been served heir of provision and tailzie to Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser, on the 22nd of March 1816; and he was served and retoured as heir male of Hugh, fifth Lord Lovat, on the 3rd of November 1823, and, at the same time, heir male of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort. He was afterwards, in 1837, created Lord Lovat, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and, in 1857, the old Scottish title was restored to him by Act of Parliament, dated the 10th of July, in that year.

The legitimate male descent of the present Lord from Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Strichen, second son of Hugh, sixth Lord Lovat, and brother of Hugh, seventh Lord, is not, we believe, disputed by the Claimant, whose whole contention rests on his own claim of legitimate male descent from Alexander, eldest son of, Thomas of Beaufort, and elder brother of Simon, Lord Lovat of the 'Forty-five. If this claim can be established, it will, it is maintained on high legal authority, exclude the right of succession of Simon and his descendants altogether, as well as that of the present family, apart from the deed of entail executed by Colonel Archibald Fraser; for they are admittedly descended from a more remote progenitor than either the Claimant's alleged ancestor or that of Lord Simon.

There are, however, questions of law and of prescription involved, in connection with that deed of entail which it may be difficult or, perhaps, impossible to get over, even if the present Claimant, JOHN FRASER, MOUNT PLEASANT, CARNARVON, could establish, to the entire satisfaction of the House of Lords, his descent from Alexander, eldest son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, Lord of Lovat, and who fled to Wales about 1692, which he claims.

The traditional account of this escapade, as we have always heard it repeated, is to the following effect:—Alexander Fraser, younger of Lovat, turned up at a wedding in Beaulieu, whether accidentally or not is not recorded. He was dressed in the Highland garb, with, among others, the usual accompaniments of dirk and sgian-dubh. As he entered the dancing apartment the piper struck up the popular and well-known tune, "Tha Biodag air MacThòmais," when one of those present suggested to the proud and hot-tempered youth, that this was done by the piper as a personal insult to himself. The words of the tune, known to every Gaelic-speaking Highlander, are as follows, and well calculated to rouse the ire of the young gentleman, if, as he thought, they were applied to him as the heir of *Mac Shimidh*, Lord of Lovat:—

Tha biodag air macThòmais,
Tha biodag fhada, mhòr, air,
Tha biodag air macThòmais,
Ach 's math a dh' fhòghnadh sgian da.

Tha biodag anns' a chliobadaich,
Air mac a bhodaich leibidich,
Tha biodag anns' a chliobadaich
Air mac a bhodaich ròmaich.

Lines which may be rendered—

There's a dirk on son of Tòmas,
Dirk long and big moreover,
There's a dirk on son of Tòmas,
Though well a knife might serve him.

A dirk is dangling, glistening,
On son of old man pitiful,
A dirk hangs dangling, glistening,
On son of old carle hoary.

Alexander, son of Thomas of Beaufort, stung to the quick by this supposed insult to himself and to his father, drew his dirk and stuck it into the bag of the pipes, intending only, it is said, to let go the wind, and stop the music; but the bag offering no resistance, the dirk penetrated through it into the body of the piper, whose dying groans, mixed with those of his pipes, died together. Alexander, horrified at the fatal result of his rashness, fled the country, according to the Claimant, to a small village in Wales, where he died in 1776, twenty-nine years after the execution of his brother, Simon, on Tower Hill. He arrived first in Cardigan Bay, after which he made his way to Powys Castle, the seat of the Earl of Powys, where he remained about six weeks, when his lordship advised him to go to his lead mines, where he would be underground, and completely safe from capture, urging, at the same time, that if he were found under his Lordship's protection, the lives of both would be endangered. Lord Powys had, it is said, been Alexander's fellow-student at college, and, like him, a supporter of the Stuarts, hence the friendship which induced Alexander to make for Powys Castle. After keeping in concealment for a long time, travelling from mine to mine, in the counties of Brecon, Montgomery, Denbigh, Carnarvon, and Anglesey, he married, in the sixty-third year of his age, as after stated. The Claimant says that he is ready to prove, by legal evidence, that this

ALEXANDER FRASER OF LOVAT fled to Wales, and there married, in the Parish of Llandulas, County of Denbigh, on the 2nd of March 1738, Elizabeth Edwards, a native of that parish with issue, four sons—

JOHN, Simon, William, and Alexander, and that the eldest son, John, who died in 1828 at Cerigbleiddiau, in his eighty-eighth year, married on the 3rd of October 1773, Mary Griffiths, in the parish of Pennynydd, with surviving issue, three sons—

JOHN, Simon, and William, and that the eldest son, John,

who was baptized on the 6th of August 1780, married on the 4th of August 1801, Ann Davies, in the Parish of Llanwenllwyfo, and died in June 1857, leaving issue by his marriage, three sons—

JOHN, William, and David, and that the eldest son, John, baptized in March 1803, married on the 4th of August 1824, Elizabeth Williams, in the Parish of Llanwenllwyfo, and died in August 1857, about two months after his father, leaving issue by his marriage, four sons—

JOHN FRASER, the present Claimant, born on the 16th of April 1825, William, Simon, and David.

It is contended, if this descent can be legally established, that neither Simon of the 'Forty-five nor any of his descendants had ever, at any time, any legal right to the titles or to the estates, and that, although the latter were, in 1774, granted to General Simon Fraser, eldest son of Lord Simon, by Act of Parliament, a saving clause was inserted, which covers the interests of the Claimant. This clause is in the following terms :—"Saving to all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, his, her, and their heirs, successors, executors, and administrates, (other than and except the King's Most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors) all such estates, rights, titles, interests, claims, and demands, of, into, and out of the lands, and premises to be granted as aforesaid, as they, every, or any of them had before the passing of the Act, or should or might have held or enjoyed, in case this Act had never been made."

What effect this saving clause may now have it is impossible to say, especially in view of the Act of restoration to Simon, Lord Lovat, of the 'Forty-five, and of the prescription, in favour of his descendants, which, in ordinary circumstances, would legally follow thereon, as far as the Lovat estates are concerned. There is also, as regards the lands of Abertarff, the possible prescription following on the Deed of Entail by Colonel Archibald, in favour of Thomas Alexander Fraser of Strichen, and his heirs, on the 15th of August 1808, though they have only succeeded a few months ago, to be overcome. The destination in it is to "the nearest legitimate male issue of my ancestor, Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, namely, Thomas Alexander Fraser of Strichen, or his heirs male, whom failing to, and in favour of the person who shall be then able to prove himself the chief of the

Clan Fraser, by legitimate descent from Hugh, first Lord Lovat, and his heirs male; all and whole the following parts and portions of the lands of Abertarff," etc. This destination is afterwards changed in favour of his grandson, the late Thomas Frederick Fraser of Abertarff, "whom failing, to the persons named as heirs and substitutes in the said deed of entail [first quoted] and in the order therein mentioned." The late Abertarff died this year [1884] without male issue, and the Court of Session has already decided against the claim of Mr Fraser to succeed the late proprietor in terms of the above destination. It was previously held by the same Court that the late Abertarff held the estates, conveyed to him by his grandfather, subject to the limitations of an entail, and the Claimant has yet to prove his right to succeed to any portion of the property in terms of this entail, or at all, whatever he may succeed in doing in the House of Lords, in which, we understand, his claim is to be presented without delay.

His case, is in brief, (1) that he is the lawful heir of Alexander, elder brother of Simon, who was attainted and beheaded in 1747; (2) that, although Simon took up the estates, he did so fraudulently in the full knowledge that his elder brother was alive; and (3) that the existing entail, under which the estates are held, was made under essential error, induced by the belief that the said Alexander died without issue, and that the family named in the entail, and now in possession, are the representatives of the ancient line of Lovat; whereas in truth, he contends, they are not so, he himself being the rightful representative of the ancient line. He is advised that, if he establishes these propositions, or the first two of them, he will succeed in his claim to the estates; and that if he proves the first proposition alone, he will establish his right to the Peerage. Prescription may, if he cannot prove fraud and essential error, bar his claim to the estates; but no prescription can bar his way to the peerage, it being settled law that a peerage is right of blood, and that *jus sanguinis nunquam prescribitur*. He is also advised that if fraud is proved the estates can be recovered as easily as the title can on his proving the identity of the Alexander who fled to Wales with his own ancestor, who, he says, he can prove to have been one and the same person, and to have lived and died in Wales. The right to

the title on the part of the descendants of Alexander would not be barred or excluded by the lapse of time or the assumption of the title by Simon and his descendants lineal or collateral. In the circumstances stated, the highest legal authority, one of whom held the leading position successfully, in similar cases before the House of Lords, declare that "the right of the present Claimant to the title and all that belongs thereto is indisputable." There are, however, a great many "ifs" in the way, and it remains to be seen what the final outcome will be. Meanwhile the case cannot fail to be interesting, not only to those most immediately concerned, but also to a great many other Highlanders. We have attempted to present it to the reader as clearly and as fairly as possible. The various points in the case are not by any means exhausted, and we shall probably return to it at a later stage.

THE REV. W. HOWIE WYLLIE, author of "Literary Notes" in the *Glasgow Daily Mail*, makes the following complimentary reference to our labours, in the *Greenock Telegraph*. It is the more gratifying to us as we never had the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of the distinguished Literateur, who is good enough to write in such flattering terms. He says :—"With this number of the *Celtic Magazine*, its spirited founder and editor closes the ninth volume, and the fact is specially worthy of note that no Celtic serial has ever lived so long as this one. Not only is it spared to complete its ninth year ; it enters upon the tenth with the brightest prospects and an ever-growing success. Mr Mackenzie well merits the distinction which the reading public among the Highlanders has thus conferred upon him. He has wrought with the finest enthusiasm, and with a taste, skill, and literary discrimination equal to the spirit of enlightened patriotism by which he has been animated. From month to month through all the years that have elapsed since Mr Mackenzie entered on his task, we have carefully noted his progress ; and there are few magazine sets on the shelves of our library that we value more highly, or more frequently take down for re-perusal than the sets of the *Celtic Magazine*. . . . We close the number with a feeling of respect and gratitude, and with the hope that Mr Mackenzie may be spared for many years to continue his excellent work on behalf of the literature and social progress of the Highlands."

THE RHIND LECTURES IN ARCHÆOLOGY.—The subject chosen for this year's course of Rhind Lectures in Archæology is "Early Celtic Monumental Inscriptions—the Ogham," and the lecturer is Sir Samuel Ferguson. The subject of the lectures is alike important and interesting.

Mr Henry White ("Fionn"), Glasgow, is preparing for publication a new and improved edition of his collection of Gaelic Readings, Songs and Recitations, the "Celtic Garland," and a second part of the "Celtic Lyre," a collection of Gaelic songs with music.

THE SIEGE OF THE BASS.

SOME two miles from Edinburgh, in the midst of the stormy waters of the Firth of Forth, is a small rocky island, called The Bass, which can boast of having—during the Revolution of 1688—held out the longest for the cause of the exiled King James II., of any town or fortress in Great Britain. At the commencement of hostilities, there was a garrison of 50 men on the island, of which Charles Maitland was governor. This gentleman held the place against all assaults until 1690, when, his stock of ammunition being exhausted, and the provisions running short, he lost heart and gave up the island to the Government of William III., who appointed Mr Fletcher of Saltoun governor. He, however, did not long enjoy his new dignity, for four of the Jacobite officers, who were left on the island, concerted together, got their men to assist, and by a bold stroke took the Governor prisoner, overpowered the soldiers, and regained possession of the island. They then sent the Governor and the soldiers ashore to the mainland.

This bold and successful exploit gave the greatest satisfaction to all the Jacobites in the district, who took good care that the little garrison should not want for either food or ammunition. When James, in his retreat of St Germain's, heard of it, he was so pleased that he dispatched for the use of his faithful adherents a French vessel loaded with provisions and stores, as well as two boats, one of which was a large twelve-oared one. This latter proved a most acceptable present, as it enabled the garrison to fetch, under cover of night, the provisions which their friends on shore provided for them. The Government, however, soon put a stop to this traffic by sending some troops to guard the coast, who, on the next occasion of the boat landing on the mainland, attacked the crew, and took some of them prisoners, the rest managing to escape with their boat.

Their communication with the land being thus cut off, they had to cruise about in their large boat by night, intercepting and seizing trading vessels; and they became so adroit at this kind of irregular warfare that no little consternation was caused among

the merchants and shipowners. One of the ships thus captured by these daring men was laden with salt, which cargo not being of much use to them, they allowed the Edinburgh people to ransom at a good price. Another was a Dutch ship, which they plundered and allowed to go on its way. They then seized a large ship laden with wheat, which they attempted to land on the Bass, but the wind proving contrary, the ship and their own boat were driven ashore on the coast of Montrose, where they were obliged, much against their will, to leave their prize and save themselves by hiding their boat and dispersing over the country. They soon, however, found an opportunity of meeting, and again setting sail, and not wishing to return empty-handed, they steered for the Island of May, where they helped themselves to several sheep and as much coal as their boat could carry.

The boldness and dexterity exhibited by this small garrison at length roused the Government to take more effectual measures. Accordingly two frigates, one of sixty and the other of fifty guns, were ordered to regularly besiege the island. For two days these frigates fired away without doing any perceptible damage to the little rock-bound fortress, secure in its great natural advantages, while, on the other hand, the fire from the garrison proved most destructive to them, several of the sailors being killed, and the frigates so much damaged that they were obliged to give up the attack.

Finding the island to be impregnable, the Government determined to starve its occupants, so two ships of war were stationed in the Firth to watch and prevent either egress or ingress to the island. The inhabitants were thus reduced to great straits, but still showed no signs of surrendering.

Their friends were constantly trying to send succour to them, and at length a small privateer from Dunkirk, laden with rusk, managed to run the blockade. The garrison was, however, so reduced in numbers—many of them having been either taken prisoners or killed during the various skirmishes—that they were unable to hoist up the rusk from the vessel, and consequently had to borrow ten sailors from the ship to help them. In the midst of their work, and when only seven bags had been hoisted up, one of the Government ships bore down on the privateer, who, to prevent being taken, had to cut her cables and make off with all

speed, leaving the sailors on the island. The garrison was now in a worse plight than ever, having ten more mouths to fill, and only a very small addition to their store of provisions. The Governor was therefore obliged to put each man on an allowance of two ounces of rusk per day.

Just at this time a Jacobite gentleman of the name of Trotter, who had been one of their best friends on the mainland, was arrested, tried, and condemned to be hanged for aiding and abetting them. On the day appointed for his execution, the gibbet was erected either by accident or design at Castletown, in view of his friends on The Bass. This so enraged them that they determined to avenge his death if possible, so when the unfortunate gentleman was brought out to undergo the last penalty of the law, amid the hootings of a large and antagonistic mob, they suddenly fired a gun with such unerring aim that it fell right in the midst of the crowd, killing some and wounding more. This unlooked for attack so terrified the officials in charge of the execution, that they hurriedly removed the prisoner and the gibbet to a safe distance, and there the dread sentence was carried out.

The brave little garrison was now reduced to such privations that they determined to capitulate. Accordingly they hoisted a flag of truce, which soon brought one of King William's officers to the island, to whom they said they were willing to surrender on their own terms. On learning this the Government appointed two officers to go to The Bass, see what condition it was in, and make the best terms they could with the garrison. These officers were received with great state by the Governor of the small fortress, who, anticipating some such an event, had, with great forethought, preserved a few bottles of wine and brandy and some fine biscuits. These refreshments were laid, with much ostentation, before the visitors, who were assured by the Governor that the garrison was well provided with food, and that he would only submit on his own terms. He also caused his men to keep marching about all the time the Government officers were on the island, thus appearing, disappearing, and then showing themselves again in the same places, while dummy figures, made up with hats and cloaks hung on muskets, were placed at the windows. The ruse succeeded; the envoys were completely deceived as to

the resources of the place, and feeling satisfied that there was no lack of men or stores, they determined, to avoid the trouble and expense of keeping up the siege, to accede to the terms proposed by the wily Governor, which were as follows :—

1st. That the garrison should come ashore with their swords about them, and there should be a ship appointed by the Government, with fresh provisions, to transport such of them as were willing to go to Dunkirk, or Havre de Grace ; and that in a month after the surrender, those who pleased to stay at home might live without disturbance.

2nd. That all they had taken, or what belonged to them after they had surprised the place, they should be allowed to dispose of to the best advantage, together with their boats, and all things pertaining to any of them.

3rd. That such of them as should incline to go abroad, might stay in Edinburgh until the ship was ready, without molestation, and have so much a day according to their several stations.

4th. That all who had belonged to the garrison, or had aided or assisted it, should have the benefit of the capitulation ; and those who were dispersed over the kingdom, should have a time to come in ; and those who were condemned in prison, or otherwise distressed, should be set at liberty the same day the garrison should come ashore, without any fees or other charges whatsoever.

By this last clause, four of the garrison who had been taken prisoners, and lay in prison in Edinburgh under sentence of death, viz., Captain Alexander Hallyburton, Captain William Fraser, Mr William Witham, and Mr William Nicolson, were set at liberty and joined the rest of their comrades ; but what became of them afterwards, whether they emigrated to France to share the fortunes of the exiled Prince they had so faithfully served, or whether they accepted the inevitable, and settled down in peace under the new Government, history does not say.

M. A. ROSE.

MR FRASER-MACKINTOSH AND THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.—The important address delivered by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh to his constituents, at Inverness, last month, and from which we quote elsewhere, has been published in pamphlet form, with Gaelic translation. Price 2d., by post 2½d., from the office of the *Celtic Magazine*.

SUTHERLAND FIGHTS.

I. TUITEAM TARBHACH.

THE "terrible conflict of Tuttim Tarwigh was foughten by the inhabitants of Southerland and Strathnaver, against Malcolm Macloyd, of the Lewes." It seems that Angus Mackay, of "Far in Strathnaver"—brother-in-law of Macleod, of Lewis—had died, leaving his wife and two sons, as well as his property of Strathnaver, under the protection of his brother Huistean Dhu Mackay. Shortly after Angus Mackay's death, Malcolm Macleod came across with a select band of his retainers on a visit to his sister, whom he understood to be ill-treated by her new protector. While returning home in rather a fierce humour, he ravaged part of the Strath and carried away a considerable quantity of spoil. Huistean Dhu Mackay and his brother Neil, along with Alexander ne-Shrem-Gorm (*alias* Alexander Murray of Cubin), who had been sent to their assistance by Earl Robert of Sutherland, followed Macleod "with all speid and overtook him at Tuttim Tarwigh upon the merches between Rosse and Southerland."

"The feight was long, furious, cruell, and doubtfull; great valour was shewn on either syd, rather desperate than resolute. At last, violent valour, weill followed with the braive and resolute courage of the inhabitants of Southerland and Strathnaver, wrought such effect that they recovered the goods and cattell, killed all their enemies, together with their commander, Malcolm Macloyd, who was called by a by-name, Gilcalm-Beg-M'Bowen. Only one man of that pairtie escaped, being grivously wounded. Bot how soone he had returned home into the Lewes and had declared the wofull calamitie and destruction of his companions he died presently; preserved, as should seem, to report unto his countrymen the event of that unfortunate battell. The place of this conflict is yit unto this day called Tuttim Tarwigh, which signifies a plentifull fall or slaughter. After this victory Houcheon Dow Macky and Neil Macky parted from Alexander Murray, and everie one returned homeward, *so many at least as escaped out of the battell.*"

Sir Robert Gordon, family historian of the Earls of Suther-

land, from whose quaint record we have quoted, assigns no date, but from other circumstances we may safely infer that the "terrible conflict" was fought in one of the early years of the 15th century.

II. DRUIM-NA-COUB.

ON the further shoulder of the long heather-clad ridge which lies beyond Haco's loch, and just underneath the shadows of Ben Laoghal's lofty peaks was fought the "cruell conflict of Druim-na-coub in the yeir of God 1427, or as some doe write, 1429." Burial mounds indicate the place of battle. The combatants were mostly of the same clan. Kinsman fought against kinsman, and that right bitterly. One man escaped from Tuiteam Tarbhach, but none of the vanquished survived this field of death to tell the tale of slaughter.

The quarrel originated in an unholy arrangement which Neil and Morgan Mackay—sons of the Neil of Tuiteam Tarbhach—had made with Angus Moray of Cubin—son of Alexander ne-Shrem-Gorm. It happened that Thomas, the brother of Neil and Morgan, had been outlawed for burning the chapel of St Duffus at Tain, and his confiscated lands were offered by King James to any that should either slay or capture him. Angus Moray eagerly grasped the opportunity, and secured the assistance of the two brothers by offering to them his daughters in marriage, and promising his co-operation in gaining for them their cousin's property of Strathnaver, to which they pretended a title. Thomas, being apprehended, was delivered to the King, and executed at Inverness.

Angus Moray, in fulfilment of his promise to Neil and Morgan, gave them his two daughters in marriage, and raising a company of Sutherland men, he joined the brothers in their invasion of Strathnaver. They reached Druim-na-coub without opposition. Here they were met by John Aberich, the illegitimate son of Angus Dhu, who led the Strathnaver men, because the old chief was unable, on account of his health, to take the command, and the other son was lying a prisoner in the Bass. Aberich, in his father's name, was willing to surrender all the lands in Strathnaver except Kintail (now in the Parish of Tongue), but no compromise could be effected. "Wherupon ther

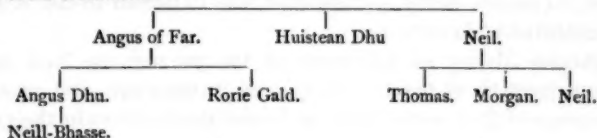
ensued a cruell and sharp conflict, valiantlie fought in a long tyme with great slaughter on either syd ; Neill and Morgin trusting to ther forces; John Aberich reposing his confidence in the equitie of his cause, encouraged his men to assault their enemies afresh, who with the lyke manhood, made stout resistance ; by reasone whereof there ensued such a cruell feight between them, that there remayned in the end, verie few alive on either syd. John Aberich, seemed to have the victorie, becaus he escaped with his lyff, yet verie sore wounded, and mutelate by the losse of one of his armes. His father Angus Dow Macky, being careid thither to view the place of conflict, and searching for the corps of his unkynd cousins, wes ther slain with an arrow, after the conflict, by a Southerland man that wes lurking in a bush hard by. Neill and Morgin with there father-in-law Angus Moray, wer slain ; and as they had undertaken this interpryse upon ane evill ground, so they perished therin accordingle.*

It is generally believed that none of the Sutherland men (Cattachs) ever returned. We have a tradition that one man escaped the battle, but that while crossing the ford between Loch-Craggie and Loch-Loyal he met the Strathnaver postman, who, on hearing the result of the battle, slew him.

D. MACLEOD, M.A.

(To be continued.)

* In the quotations from Sir Robert Gordon's History, the original spelling is retained. The following genealogical tree may be of service in indicating the relationship of the combatants :—



A LOST GAELIC DICTIONARY.—A correspondent would feel obliged to any of our readers who would favour him with particulars of a Mr Alexander Robertson, schoolmaster, Kirkmichael, Perthshire, who, in the early years of this century, prepared, and announced as ready for publication, a Gaelic Dictionary. Was the Dictionary, or any portion of it, published ? If so, by whom and what came of it ? It is not mentioned in Reid's *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, or in any other work on Gaelic literature that has come under our querist's notice.

IRELAND AND THE IRISH LAND ACT FROM A HIGHLAND POINT OF VIEW.

I.

IN 1879 I visited the Dominion of Canada, from Cape Breton to Lakes Simcoe, Huron, and Erie, to find out, from personal observation and inquiry, the actual state of the Highlanders of Canada, and compare it with the condition of our countrymen at home, throughout the various parts of the Highlands of Scotland. Similarly anxious to have an accurate idea of the condition of the peasantry of Ireland, I resolved last month to pay a visit to that country.

Leaving Inverness by Mr MacBrayne's splendidly equipped steamer, the "Gondolier," and proceeding *via* the Caledonian and Crinan Canals to Glasgow, from there I crossed to Londonderry by one of Messrs Alexander Laird & Co.'s steamers, trading with goods and passengers to most of the northern Irish ports, and landed next morning in that celebrated town, the leading feature of which is its famous Wall, constructed during the Siege of Londonderry, and which encircles all the portion of the town then existing. On the top of this thick wall is a wide road, in some portions of which two or three carriages could drive abreast, but the most of Londonderry being situated on a hill, it is, of course, impossible to drive round the wall, as it is interspersed at various points with flights of steps. From the higher portion a magnificent view is obtained of Loch-Foyle and the surrounding district.

Londonderry is, perhaps, one of the most Orange and ultra-Protestant places in Ireland, and I was surprised beyond measure to find the large number of people amongst the inhabitants who were in favour of the principles of the Irish Land League, and in favour of Home Rule. Many who are decidedly so cannot afford to express their opinions publicly, nor even to many of their own personal friends, for fear of the consequences in their business and social relations; but that the feeling exists in a very marked degree is undoubted.

Having made a few calls, I proceeded by rail to the West of Ireland, along the western banks of the River Foyle, through a beautiful, well-cultivated country, passing through the counties of Londonderry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Leitrim, and Sligo. On the way, especially as I proceeded westward through the last-mentioned two counties, I was particularly struck with the neat outward appearance of the houses occupied by the peasantry. Here, as in most of the places visited by me in Ireland, there were substantially-built stone houses, with stone gables and a chimney in each, or occasionally in the centre of the dwelling. It was a pleasing picture, and being well-acquainted, as I am, with almost every portion of the Scottish Highlands occupied by the crofting classes, I was not a little surprised to see the superiority, as far as outward appearance went, of the corresponding classes in the North and North-west of Ireland. I attributed all this, however, to the fact that I was still in a portion of the country prosperous above the average, and that I was only as yet on my way to the poorer districts, which, from what I read of the poverty-stricken state of Ireland, must be much worse than anything with which I was acquainted in my own country. But that state of things I have not met with, as I shall show more in detail by and bye, though I have driven over the most of one of the largest counties in Ireland, and a county by common consent, declared to be, taking it altogether, the poorest county in the whole island.

The town of Sligo, at which I arrived the same afternoon, is a beautifully situated little town on the Bay of the same name. It is notorious in the history of politics as being one of the present disfranchised burghs in Ireland, on account of corrupt practices at elections, and also as being the capital of the county represented in Parliament by Mr Sexton, the first orator of the Parnellite party in the House of Commons.

Within two miles of Sligo is Loch-Gill, which is reached by a boat on the river. The lake itself is about five miles in length, by about two in breadth, surrounded by hills of no great altitude, but in many parts beautifully wooded. In the lake itself there are upwards of twenty islands, most of them covered with trees. Our boatman took us to a point on the north side of the lake, called Dooney Rock. A short walk from this takes us to the top

of an elevated point projecting into the lake, from which a beautiful picture is obtained of the whole lake and its surroundings. The boatman, Dominick Gallagher, is an intelligent and agreeable fellow, but I would strongly recommend parties going to visit the lake to insist upon his taking a substantial boat, and not to accompany him in one of those slender craft which he naturally prefers taking, for its good rowing qualities, but which, in the event of a breeze rising, are not safe on this loch; and we were told that no end of accidents have occurred upon it, though not under the guidance of our Dominick.

The leading feature for the antiquarian in the town of Sligo is the splendid ruin of the Abbey, founded in 1252, by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Lord Justice of Ireland. It was burnt in 1414, but soon afterwards re-built. There is still an altar of carved stone, and the choir has a beautiful Gothic window, still very perfect. The steeple is entire, and is supported by a lofty arch. There are several vaults throughout the ruins, containing the remains of skulls, bones, and coffins. The Abbey is still used as a Roman Catholic burial-place. The only other sight which interested me in Sligo was the regiments of donkeys which appeared in the principal streets of the town, with huge loads of hay on their backs, or rather the full length of their bodies, literally burying them out of sight, not an inch of them being seen except a very small portion of their heads, their legs, and the tips of their tails, it being scarcely possible to distinguish the latter from the former.

Next day I proceeded to Ballina, a distance of thirty-seven miles, by what is known as a "long car," in contradistinction to the ordinary jaunting car, driven by three horses. The long car does duty in Ireland for the public coach in this country, and carries a large number of people, while the ordinary jaunting car is seated only for four persons, two on each side, and the driver. The first few miles of the drive are interesting and pleasant. A few miles on, we pass through the village of Ballysadare, situated at the foot of the Lurgan Hills, a prominent range. Through it passes the Owenmore, a fine river, which falls into a pretty bay of the sea, over a series of rocky ledges, forming a succession of beautiful rapids. On this river there are several large mills; and on the west side, the ruins of the Abbey of St Fechin, overlooking the rapids and the village. The drive is continued through

a somewhat interesting country, occupied mainly by small tenants, with neat, stone-built, white-washed cottages, surrounded by somewhat rugged and stony plots of land, almost in all cases walled into small parks or enclosures. On the left is a range of hills rising to a height of over 1000 feet above the level of the sea, while, on the right, we have the open ocean. The latter half of the drive from Dromore to Ballina is flat, boggy, and generally unattractive. For the first half of the distance I had, sitting beside me, a lady and her daughter, whom I found most civil and communicative, particularly on the subject of the Irish Land Act, and its effect upon the landowning classes in Ireland. She was a widow, whose husband had bought two properties from the Landed Estate Courts, and who, before he died, made provision for three out of four sons, and his only daughter, by which they were to receive so many thousand pounds each out of the estates, the eldest son to succeed and to provide these portions to his brothers and sister when they came of age. According to the value of the property then, and the rents received, the eldest son, the father thought, was liberally provided for, but the reductions made by the Land Court, under the provisions of the Irish Land Act, reduced the rents, in some cases ten, in others twenty-five, and in some thirty per cent., proportionally reducing the value of the estates themselves, so that by the time the younger members of the family are provided for, the eldest son will be worse off than with nothing at all. This I found to be only a specimen of numerous other cases throughout Ireland, in many instances, further intensified in the cases of mortgaged estates by the action of English and Scotch money-lenders who now insist upon the mortgages being paid off, or the estates forced, and sold in the open market at whatever price can be got for them; and there is a general feeling among the landowning classes that an Act, which made such a state of things possible, ought, at the same time, to have provided machinery to reduce the portions of younger members and relatives of the families affected by it, in proportion to the reduction made in the heritable estates under the Act. It certainly does seem unfair that, while all the other members of the family are provided for to the full extent of their father's intentions, his object, as regards the head of the family, should be so completely frustrated. In many cases, I was told, the various

members of the family might be got to agree to a proportionate reduction of their claims, but by the time they all come of age, and provision has to be made for them, it will usually be found that the oldest of them have started in life with interests of their own, and will be found unwilling to forego their legal rights; and, while any members of the family are under age, it is impossible, of course, to give legal effect to what their better nature prompts them to do.

In course of the last nine or ten miles of the journey, I was struck, for the first time, with the peculiarity of the arable portion of the land, and the situation of the houses among the extensive bogs or mosses, extending on either side of the road. The bog had been cut away in years past for peat or turf, and the portions thus cleared of the boggy surface brought under cultivation. In the distance nothing could be seen of the houses except the roofs, the walls being sunk in the mossy wilderness, but as we approached them their whitewashed walls appeared on the lower level. It did seem cruel that the poor people, who reclaimed these plots in such a manner from the endless bog, should have been rack-rented by landlords who never expended a single farthing or an hour's labour on their reclamation, and it was gratifying to know that, by the Irish Land Act, such appropriation of the result of other people's labour was for ever made impossible in Ireland, and that whatever energy is put forth, and whatever results may be obtained, will in future be the undisputed and absolute property of those who make the improvements. This feeling of security has already given rise to an active industrial spirit throughout many parts of Ireland, and this will increase year by year as the people realise that the result of their labour will in future be secured to themselves and their descendants.

It was dark before we arrived at Ballina, the capital of the County of Mayo, beautifully situated on the Moy, about five miles from the junction of that river with the Bay of Killala. It has a population of over 5000, and it has several good buildings, including some fine shops and banks, but the streets do not appear to be much looked after, and are generally dirty. The tide flows up to the town, but the river is only navigable to the quay, situated about a mile-and-a-half below. It is a favourite

resort of anglers, who find magnificent sport in the river and the neighbouring lakes. The town was entered by the French in 1798, driving out the Loyalists, who retreated about eight miles into the country. They were, however, forced to leave the town about three weeks after by General Trench, and ultimately driven to their ships in the Bay of Killala, or drowned in crossing the river. I was met on my arrival at the Post-office by a gentleman, in whose veins runs the best blood of the Highland chiefs, and was at once driven to his residence on the outskirts of the town, where I was hospitably entertained by himself and his amiable consort.

I had previously been informed that some portions of the County of Donegal, the district of Connemara, and County Mayo, were the poorest portions of the country; and that the latter county, taking it all in all, was fairly representative of the population of the poorest of the Irish counties—the poorest in Ireland. I therefore thought it the most suitable for comparison with the state of the poorest portions of our own Highlands, and first-class means of locomotion having been placed at my disposal by my Highland friend, in the shape of a carriage and a splendid pair of thoroughbred horses, I determined to explore it as much as I could during the week which I was able to devote to observation and inquiry among the people of Mayo. I was told that I was within a few miles of a celebrated district—that in which the flag of the Irish National Land League was first unfurled by Michael Davitt, and I resolved that to this place I should pay my first visit. Accordingly, I drove some twenty miles into the country, to within a short distance of a place called Swineford, then crossed the country about four miles westward, driving back, through the parish of Straide and the town of Foxford, to Ballina. In this district was pointed out to me the house wherein was born the notorious Sheridan, and where his mother and brothers still reside. The place was described as a “warm” one by the serjeant of police whom I found in charge of a newly-constructed police barrack at a place called Bohola. A great portion of this district, especially on the way out to Swineford, was, where it was not boggy, rugged and stony, and had all the appearance of its being hard work to extract a livelihood from the land; yet the houses bore an outward appearance of comfort and

prosperity, out of all comparison with the corresponding classes in the West Highlands and Islands of Scotland. One thing was noticeable here, as, indeed, it was almost everywhere I went to, that whatever arable land existed was mainly in possession of the people, with an occasional large grazing or arable farm among the smaller ones, to indicate a gradation in the holdings, and as an object of ambition to the smaller occupants. This district, the birthplace of Michael Davitt, the founder of the Irish Land League, has now become interesting to the whole British people, whether they approve or disapprove of his conduct or of the principles which he so ably advocates, and there are incidents in connection with his childhood which should teach a wholesome lesson to evicting landlords throughout the United Kingdom. Here, in the parish of Straide, he was born in the year 1846. Four years after, the unpretentious home in which he first saw the light, was brought down about his ears, and the whole of his family were thrown upon the roadside to live or die, for all the evicting landlord cared; but, unluckily for Irish landlordism, young Davitt did not die, and the cruelly evicted child, turned out in the winter's snow with his parents, his brothers, and sisters, returned to the site of his father's humble home on the 1st of February 1880, and, from a platform erected over the ruins of his father's homestead, he proclaimed, for the first time, the principles of the Irish Land League, which have since produced a total revolution in the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, and are destined to do so in other parts of the kingdom at no distant date. No one, thanks to the impression left upon Davitt's mind by cruel eviction, at the early age of four years, can now be evicted in Ireland for any other cause than arrears of a fair rent, judicially settled by the Irish Land Courts. The place had for me an intense and indescribable interest, and I must be pardoned for reproducing here the stirring terms in which Michael Davitt first appealed to his countrymen, standing and speaking, as if inspired, on the ruins of his father's home. Here he eloquently exclaimed to a meeting of 15,000 people, to the whole of Ireland, and to the civilised civilised world:—

“Does not the scene of domestic devastation now spread before this vast meeting bear testimony to the crimes with which landlordism stands charged before God and man to-day? Can a

more eloquent denunciation of an accursed land-code be found than what is witnessed here in this depopulated district? In the memory of many now listening to my words, that peaceful little stream which meanders by the outskirts of this multitude sang back the merry voices of happy children, and wended its way through a once populous and prosperous village. Now, however, the merry sounds are gone, the busy hum of hamlet life is hushed in sad desolation, for the hands of the house-destroyers have been here and performed their hellish work, leaving Straide but a name to mark the place where happy homesteads once stood, and whence an inoffensive people were driven to the four corners of the earth by the ruthless decree of Irish landlordism. How often, in a strange land, has my boyhood's ear drunk in the tale of outrage and wrong and infamy perpetrated here in the name of law, and in the interest of territorial greed: in listening to the accounts of famine and sorrow, of deaths through landlordism, of coffinless graves, of scenes

‘On highway side, where oft was seen
The wild dog and the vulture keen,
Tug for the limbs and gnaw the face
Of some starved child of our Irish race.’

What wonder that such laws should become hateful, and, when felt by personal experience of the tyranny and injustice, that a life of irreconcilable enmity to them should follow, and that, *standing here on the spot where I first drew breath*, in sight of a levelled home, with memories of privation and tortures crowding upon my mind, I should swear to devote the remainder of that life to the destruction of what has blasted my early years, pursued me with its vengeance through manhood, and leaves my family in exile to-day, far from that Ireland which is itself wronged, robbed, and humiliated through the agency of the same accursed system. It is no little consolation to know, however, that we are here to-day doing battle against a doomed monopoly; and that the power which has so long domineered over Ireland and its people is brought to its knees at last, and on the point of being crushed for ever; and, if I am standing here to-day upon a platform erected over the ruins of my levelled home, I may yet have the satisfaction of trampling on the ruins of Irish landlordism.”

The next day, Tuesday, I spent in Ballina and the neighbourhood. On Wednesday I proceeded on my way to the West. A few miles from Ballina, a spot was pointed out where, during the agrarian disturbances in the county, a man was shot, in the middle of the road, from behind a hedge. Soon after this we were skirting round the beautiful Bay of Killala, and were pointed out the place where the French were driven across the river to

their ships by the Loyalists, many of them being drowned in the river, where, still lying on the banks, half-buried in the marshy soil, lie some of the cannon left behind by the French in their hurried retreat. I felt surprised that historical relics of such a kind should be left to rust away in such a position, for it would be very easy to mount them in a simple fashion where they could be seen by passers-by interested in such relics, and the hint ought to be sufficient to secure this result, and at the same time preserve them from wearing away by rust.

In this neighbourhood we pass the ruins of two ancient abbeys, those of Roserk and Moyne, the former situated on the River Moy in a beautiful situation, surrounded with undulating hills. Two miles north of Moyne Abbey is the town of Killala, on the west side of the bay of the same name, possessing a round tower, and the ruins of St Patrick's, at one time a Diocesan Cathedral. Eighteen miles from Ballina, after passing through a beautiful undulating country, we arrived at the village of Ballycastle, from which we proceeded to Downpatrick Head, a succession of magnificent cliffs, well repaying a visit.

When about two-thirds of the distance from Ballycastle we came upon a number of young cattle in an enclosure, six or eight of which had their tails cut off at different points more or less near the rump. This atrocity was at the time put down to the Invincibles, and the country has to pay compensation accordingly. The universal opinion, however, in the district is that the brutal act was that of a neighbour, who had been for years on bad terms with their owner, and with whom he was constantly in the Law Courts. The police in the district are all of the same opinion, though hitherto they have not been able to obtain the necessary legal evidence, notwithstanding which the innocent neighbours have, under the existing law, to pay the value of the maimed cattle to their owner.

On ascending the grassy slope leading to its summit, we are startled by coming suddenly on a great chasm in the middle of the sloping plain, apparently caused by the surface of the hill having fallen in. Cautiously approaching this abyss and looking down a depth of several hundred feet, the ocean is observed seething through a subterranean passage, which runs from one side of the headland to the other, and through which, in calm weather, a small boat can pass. About fifty or sixty yards from the main-

land stands what is called the Rock Pillar, which has the appearance of having at one time been torn away from the parent cliff. On the top of it the ruins of an ancient building are distinctly seen. As we visited the scene the sea was pretty rough, and the whole surroundings and those precipitous cliffs had a grand and awe-inspiring appearance.

On the slope leading up to the point there were several ruins of ancient buildings, also sacred cairns and wells, to which Catholic pilgrims often paid visits, and where they went through various devotional exercises, which appeared to the uninitiated onlooker to be meaningless and laborious. Having returned to Ballycastle, we were provided for in the principal hotel of the place, the outward appearance of which by no means indicated the cosy comfort, cleanliness, and excellent provision made by its civil hostess, for the weary traveller.

Next morning I started and visited the district near Rossport, being the poorest and most wretched place I had yet seen in Ireland, and where, at a distance, nothing could be seen of the houses but a small bit of the well-thatched roofs, apparently jutting out of the bog, but as we approached them the turf was found cut away for a considerable distance right round them, and fairly good crops of potatoes and oats growing on the lower level on which the houses, with substantially-built, white-washed stone walls, were erected. These holdings, miserable and poor in the extreme, were literally reclaimed from the bog, and I could not help thinking that in the winter the houses must be covered over by the snow. We had here to turn back over the same road for about six miles to gain the main road to Belmullet, which was our destination that day, and where we arrived in the evening, after having driven through a very poor part of the county, and being wet through, for it rained heavily and blew almost a gale the whole day. Our splendid pair of thoroughbreds covered over fifty miles that day, wretched as it was, and came into Belmullet almost as fresh as when they started in the morning.

Next day we hired an ordinary Irish jaunting car, and drove some twelve miles right on to the Atlantic, on the north side of Achill Sound, where I went inside some of the houses, and found the people, still living in substantially-built houses, out of all comparison superior to most of those in the Western Highlands and Isles, very civil, and willing to give me any information asked for.

Though the houses were outwardly what I have described, I found some of them exceedingly wretched and dirty within. The cow, as a rule, occupied the same room with the family, as well as the pig—"the jintleman as pays the rint." It is no uncommon thing to find the cow actually tied to one of the posts of the bed in which the occupants are asleep. In this district I asked a woman who was just putting the potatoes for the dinner on the fire, if she ever had anything in the shape of meat during the year, when she declared that, "Niver a bit, sorr, except a little at Christmas." Having explored this district, known as the Mullet, I returned to the village, and in the afternoon made an excursion of ten miles in another direction, and through a country very much of the same description.

In the disturbed times two or three people were shot in this district, a landed proprietor having lost his leg, he having been shot, while riding in his trap, at a spot pointed out to me, at the road side,—for which he is getting compensation to the amount of £1500; and a farmer having been killed for taking land from which another had been evicted, and for which his widow is receiving £450—all this money being levied on the district in the shape of what is called the blood-tax, amounting to 1s. 0½d. in the pound, on every one in the district. I must admit that it struck me as somewhat peculiar that the leg of the landlord was valued at £1500, while the whole farmer was only considered worth £450 to his sorrowing widow. I naturally inquired if this tax was not considered a great hardship by the law-abiding portion of the people, but was informed on all hands that they never paid any money more willingly, as things had so greatly improved in the district since these unfortunate events occurred. We returned again the same night to the village of Belmullet, and on the next day, Saturday, drove through an entirely new part of the country, a distance of forty miles, to Ballina, where I spent the Sunday with my friends, proceeding on Monday through another portion of the County of Mayo, the Counties of Galway, Roscommon, Westmeath, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, on my way to the Irish capital.

This part of my journeyings and my conclusions generally on the working of the Irish Land Act, and the benefits derived, and to be derived, from it, will be dealt with in a future issue.

A. M.

HIGHLAND SOLDIERS IN FRANCE.

WHEN, in 1690, it became apparent that the cause of the Stuart Dynasty was doomed, a great many Highland gentlemen, the remnant of Dundee's gallant army, went over to France, preferring to serve in a foreign country to living under, what they considered, the rule of an usurper. They were welcomed with avidity by the French King, who stationed them in different towns, and paid them according to the respective ranks they had borne at home.

For some time they served willingly, in the hope that before long they might be needed to fight for their own king; but after a year or two, seeing there was no chance of this, and feeling—whether rightly or wrongly—that they were considered a burden on the French King, they thought it would be better to form themselves into a regiment, and choose their own officers from among their ranks.

They approached King James with a petition to this effect, and assured him that they were willing to serve as private soldiers, and to undergo any privations if they could only be together and commanded by their own countrymen. The King at first objected, for, while fully recognising their generosity and loyalty, he feared that gentlemen brought up as they had been, would never be able to put up with the disagreeableness and hardships of the life of a private soldier. However, they were unanimous in their desire, and at last the King gave his consent, and appointed Colonel Thomas Brown to be their Captain, Colonel Alexander Gordon and Colonel Andrew Scott to be Lieutenants, and Major James Buchan as Ensign, the rest to be merely private soldiers.

As soon as they were embodied they were ordered to take the route to Catalonia; but before leaving St Germain's they were reviewed by James, who made them the following speech:—

Gentlemen,—My own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours; it grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the station of

private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced upon their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty hath made so deep an impression on my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your Prince, he is of your own blood, a child capable of any impression, and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits.

At your own desires you are now going a long march, far distant from me ; I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God, and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your Parent and King.

His Majesty then asked each gentleman his name, and wrote it in his pocket book, then taking off his hat with the grace so characteristic of the Stuarts, bade them farewell.

They had to march a distance of some nine hundred miles to Perpignan, in Rousillon, where they were to receive their uniform, and join the French army there encamped.

They began their long march in high spirits, and at every town they passed through they were received with respect by the inhabitants, and were billeted in the best houses. When leaving in the morning they were generally favoured with the presence of the ladies, who, with the ready sympathy of their sex, pitied the condition of these gallant gentlemen, who bore their reverse of fortune with so much equanimity and dignity of manner.

When, however, they had got further into the country, the people did not appear so friendly, most probably from the fact that the French soldiers were unpopular on account of their overbearing and exacting manners. To instance this feeling, once, while crossing a brook, which had been swollen by heavy rains, four of the company were carried down the stream, and only saved themselves from drowning by seizing hold of some bushes, and thus keeping their heads above water, but were unable to regain their footing. Though there were plenty of the country people

close at hand, no one would help them, and the poor men had to wait in this unpleasant and dangerous position until their comrades came up to their assistance. Another time, when near the termination of their long march, one of them being billeted on a farmer, was set upon by the man, his wife, and servant, and most unmercifully beaten and illused. However, on complaint being made to the governor of Rousillon, an aide-de-camp was immediately sent to the gentleman, to beg his pardon in the name and on behalf of the King of France, for the ill-treatment he had sustained, and to assure him that he should have every satisfaction.

Within two days the farmer was arrested, branded in the hand, and banished from France, while the whole of his furniture was carried into the market-place and publicly burnt, as a warning to others to show proper respect to these gentlemen.

On arriving at Perpignan they were drawn up in rank before the house of Lieutenant-General Shaseron, the governor, who received them with great courtesy, and their appearance so affected the ladies present that they were moved to tears, and privately made up a purse of two hundred pistoles for them.

Here they received their uniform and arms, and these gallant men had now, instead of carrying a half-pike, to shoulder a fire-lock, and exchange cartouch-boxes and haversacks for the gorgets and sashes they formerly wore. Still they bore all the discomforts of their new life with such dignified patience and manly bearing that they won golden opinions from the French officers, who treated them rather with the respect due to their former position than to their present humble condition; and a frequent remark among the Frenchmen was that a detachment from all the officers in the French army could not equal this company of exiled Scots.

Now it was that they began to realise the full extent of the sacrifice they had made to their loyalty, for their money getting exhausted, and their pay as privates, viz., 3d. a day, with one and a-half pounds of bread—being quite insufficient to support men used to good living—they were obliged to sell some of their clothes, such as their fine laced coats, embroidered waistcoats, Holland shirts, and even their watches.

Upon this merchandise they managed to exist from Novem-

ber 1692 to May 1693, when they were ordered into camp, and joined, to their mutual delight, by Major Rutherford's company of refugee Scots, and Captain John Foster, with some veteran troops of Dumbarton's regiment, and many a loyal heart was drunk to King James, and the success of his cause by these reunited friends.

During an inspection of these three Scotch companies by Marshall de Noailles, his Excellency desired the company of officers to march past a second time, and was so pleased by their martial bearing that he complimented them highly, and presented them with a mule to carry their tents, which was a great relief to them.

They now marched over the Pyrenees and besieged a town called Roses situated in the valley of Lampardo, a most unhealthy place, and where the water was so bad that it produced a great deal of sickness among the troops; especially did the company of Scotch officers suffer, both from the climate and want of proper food, having little else than sardines, horse-beans, and garlic, which diet, however agreeable to the natives, did not agree very well with the stomachs of Scottish gentlemen.

Though weakened by privation and prostrated by fever these brave men refused to go into hospital, preferring to do their duty, and take their share of the hard work which was the more arduous in consequence of there being no pioneers. Consequently the soldiers had to cut wood, make fascines for the trenches, etc.

During the attack on the town of Roses the company of officers who acted as grenadiers, behaved with such conspicuous bravery that after the place surrendered the Governor asked the French General what countrymen these grenadiers were, and said that it was they who caused him to give up the town, for they fired so hotly that he believed they were about to attack the breach. The Marshal replied with a smile "*les sont mes enfans.*" "They are my children," adding, "They are the King of Great Britain's Scotch officers, who, to show their willingness to share his miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of arms, and chosen to serve under my command."

The next day when riding along the ranks, the Marshal halted before the company of officers, and with hat in hand, thanked them for their good services, and freely acknowledged

that it was their bravery which caused the surrender of the town, and assured them that he should report their services to his Sovereign.

The Marshal kept his word, and on the French King receiving the despatches at Versailles, he immediately took coach to St Germain, and showed them to King James, and thanked him for the services his subjects had rendered in taking Roses. James was much affected, and said "These gentlemen were the flower of my British officers, and I am only sorry that I cannot make better provision for them."

Marshal de Noailles did not confine his admiration of this gallant corps to mere compliments, for he very kindly gave each of them some money, two shirts, a nightcap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes. King James also gave them an allowance of fivepence a day to each man; but in spite of these additional comforts, fevers and agues still prevailed amongst them. On hearing this, Marshal de Noailles wished them to leave the camp and go into any garrison they chose. They, however, declared that they would not pass a day in idleness while the King of France, who befriended their King, had need of their services, and that they would not leave the camp so long as a single man of them remained alive.

About the middle of June 1693, the army, numbering twenty-six thousand, marched from Roses to Piscador; but the sickness and mortality was so great that only ten thousand reached their destination. On one occasion a sudden alarm being given, our company of officers was the only one that presented itself promptly and in good order, on observing which the General exclaimed, "*Se gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se montre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger*"—"gentlemen are gentlemen, and will always show themselves such in time of need and danger."

Their sickness still continuing, King James got them removed to another province—Alsace—thinking, as the climate there was cold, it would better agree with his hardy Scots; but unfortunately it only proved going from bad to worse. On 4th December 1693 they, with the other two Scotch companies, began the long and fatiguing march from Tureilles in Rousillon to Silistad in Alsace. The winter was unusually severe, and these unfortunate gentlemen were in a very unfit state for such a journey, so that when they

arrived at Lyons their condition was indeed pitiable. Their coats were old and thin, their shoes and stockings worn and torn, while the extreme hardships they had undergone had reduced them so much that they looked more like living skeletons than anything else. Still their spirits were undaunted, and to quote the words of a contemporary writer, "Their miseries and wants were so many and so great, that I am ashamed to express them. Yet no man that conversed with them, could ever accuse them of a disloyal thought, or the least uneasiness under their misfortunes. When they got over their bottles (which was but seldom), their conversation was of pity and compassion for their King and young gentleman, and how His Majesty might be restored, without any prejudice to his subjects."

After three days' rest in Lyons they proceeded on their weary march to Silistad. Their sufferings during this long journey were extreme, the snow lay several feet deep, and the country they passed through was so famine-stricken, that they were very nearly starved. All they could get was a few horse-beans, turnips, colworts, and a little yellow seed which they boiled in water. When they arrived at Silistad they had to again resort to the expedient of selling from their very limited stock of clothes to provide themselves with food, and what affected them still more, they were obliged to part with treasured articles, which they had kept to the very last, and which nothing but the direst distress would ever compel them to part with. Thus, one would say "This is the seal of our family, I got it from my grandfather, and will therefore never part with it." Another would say, "This ring I got as a keepsake from my mother, I would rather die than sell it"; while the rest would have rings, snuff-boxes, buckles or dirks, all endeared to them by associations with loved ones in their far off country. Yet in a few weeks the pangs of cold and hunger overcame these fine feelings of sentiment, and the long treasured relics passed into the hands of the stranger. Notwithstanding these sacrifices several of them died during their stay at Silistad from want of proper food and clothes. This reaching the ear of James, he sent orders for as many of them as wished to claim their discharge from the French service, and return to him at St Germain.

This kind offer was declined by the great majority, who were

determined not to give up ; but fourteen of the company returned, and were very kindly received by James, who gave them their choice, either to stay with him on an allowance, or to take a sum of money and return to Britain and make their peace with the Government, and he allowed them some days to make their choice.

One day during their stay at St Germain's, the young Prince met four of them in the park. Knowing from their dress who they were, he beckoned them to approach him. On their kneeling and kissing his hand, he said "He was sorry for their misfortunes, and that he hoped to live to see his Majesty in a condition to reward their sufferings ; as for himself, he was but a child, and did not understand much ; but according to the rude notions he had of government and the affairs of the world, they were men of honour, and loyal subjects, and had by their sufferings laid such obligations upon him in his childhood, that he could never forget them." He then took out his purse, and expressing regret that the Queen, his mother, did not keep him better supplied, he gave it, with its contents, to them, and then got into his carriage, while they adjourned to a tavern, and expended the money in drinking the health of the young Prince and his royal father.

When the gold was spent they began to dispute who should have the honour of keeping the purse as a souvenir of the Prince. The quarrel grew so fierce and the noise so great that the King sent to inquire the cause, and on learning what it was, he sent an officer to take away the purse ; so harmony was once more restored.

We must now return and follow the further adventures of those who preferred to die at their post of duty than ask their discharge during a time of war. While they, and the other two Scotch companies, were in garrison at Silistad, the Governor of that fortress was apprehensive that Prince Lewis of Baden, who had crossed the Rhine with 80,000 men, would besiege him, and he declared publicly that if they did, he should depend more on the three companies of Scots than on the whole of the rest under his command.

Silistad, however, was not attacked, and, soon after, the company of officers were ordered to Fort-Cadette on the Rhine.

After staying there more than a year they were sent to Strasburg. In 1697 they again made themselves conspicuous by their bravery.

The Germans under General Stirk were on one side of the Rhine with 16,000 men, while the Marquis de Sell was on the other with only 4000 men, among whom were the Scotch officers. Between the two armies, in the middle of the Rhine, was an island which both parties were anxious to get possession of.

While the French general was sending for boats to go over to take possession of this coigne of vantage, the Germans quietly threw over a bridge from their side, posted 500 men on the island, and opened a most destructive fire upon the French. The Scots, ever eager for glory, and despising danger, begged permission to attack the Germans, who were entrenched on the island. The Marquis replied that as soon as the boats arrived they should be the first to attack. To this they answered they need not wait for boats; but that they would wade across. On hearing this the Marquis shrugged his shoulders, blessed himself, and bid them do as they pleased.

When it was dark the company assembled quietly, unknown to the rest of the French army, took off their shoes and stockings, which, with their firelocks, they tied round their necks, advanced with caution to the river, waded hand in hand in the old Highland fashion, the water coming up to their breasts. As soon as they got out of the depth of the river, they unslung their arms, and made a sudden rush on the enemy, who were quite taken by surprise, being unconscious of their approach. The attack was so unlooked for that the Germans were seized with a panic, rushed to their bridge, which in the confusion was broken down, and many of them were drowned, the rest being killed by the victorious Scots. When the Marquis de Sell heard the firing, and understood the Germans were driven out of the island, he made the sign of the cross on his face and breast, and declared that it was the bravest action that he ever saw. When the boats at last arrived, the Marquis sent word to the Scots that he would immediately send troops and provisions. The answer he got was "that they wanted no troops, and could not spare time to make use of provisions, and only desired spades, shovels, and pickaxes, wherewith they might entrench themselves."

The next day the Marquis crossed to the island, and kindly

embraced every man of the company, thanking them for the very signal service they had rendered to him.

For six long weeks they encamped on this island, while the Germans made every effort to regain possession; but our heroes were too watchful, and at last the enemy had to decamp. The island was afterwards named *Isle d' Escosse*, in honour of these brave men.

After this exploit they returned to Strasburg, where they remained for two years, when a treaty of peace was entered into, one of the conditions made by William the Third being that this gallant company of heroic Scots should be disbanded. This was done, and the officers had permission to go where they pleased. "And thus was dissolved one of the best companies that ever marched under command, gentlemen who, in the midst of all their pressure and obscurity never forgot they were gentlemen; and whom the sweet of a brave, a just, and honourable conscience, rendered, perhaps, more happy under those sufferings, than the most prosperous and triumphant in iniquity, since our own minds stamp our happiness."

E. S. M.

QUEEN MARY'S VISIT TO INVERNESS.

DURING the reign of the ill-fated Queen Mary, the Earl of Huntly was the head of the Roman Catholic party in Scotland. Weak and vacillating in character, he was mostly concerned about the safety and increase of his vast estates. Lord James Stuart, the Queen's natural brother, stood high in favour with his royal sister, though of a different religion. The Queen deeply offended Huntly by taking from him the Earldom of Moray and bestowing it upon the Lord James, and, in revenge, he did all in his power to foment sedition among the clans under his sway.

In 1562, the Earl of Huntly's movements in the Highlands were so suspicious, that Mary, fearful lest by his intrigues he should seduce the clans from their allegiance, resolved, with the advice and approval of the newly-created Earl of Moray, to make a journey to the North of Scotland, with the view of animating by her presence the flagging loyalty of her subjects in that part

of the kingdom. Huntly, well knowing that he was an object of the deepest hatred to Moray, who was the representative of the Protestant cause, was much put about when he heard of the projected Royal visit, from which he augured no good result to himself. He sent his lady to Aberdeen to meet Mary, and, if possible, to penetrate her purpose in coming north. He also instructed her to invite the Queen to his castle of Strathbogie, thinking, probably, that if he once had her in his power, he might make his own terms with her. This proffer, however, Mary, doubtless instigated by Moray, was prudent enough to decline, and, accompanied by her brother and several others, proceeded towards Inverness, then, as now, the Capital of the Highlands. In Morayshire the Royal party was met by Lord Lovat with five hundred picked clansmen, who guarded the Queen and her train to Inverness, where, after what one of the retinue describes as "a terrible journey," they arrived on the 11th of September.

Upon their arrival, however, they found that the Castle, where Mary had intended to reside, was occupied by the retainers of the Earl of Huntly, who was hereditary keeper, under the command of his Lieutenant-Governor, Alexander Gordon. The garrison was immediately summoned to open the gates and admit the Royal party, but the Governor insolently replied that, without orders from his feudal superior, the Earl of Huntly, he would neither open the gates to the Queen nor to anybody else. Her force not being strong enough at the time to storm the fortress, Mary was obliged to take up her lodgings in a house upon the north side of Bridge Street, where she held her court for some days.

John Gordon, laird of Findlater, and son of the Earl of Huntly, upon learning that the Queen was at Inverness, levied a large number of his vassals, and advanced towards the town, with the intention of seizing her person. The Royalists were somewhat perturbed at Findlater's approach, and, to protect the town from assault, and the Queen from danger, a small squadron of ships entered the river. A Royal Proclamation was issued, calling upon the clans to gather at Inverness for the Queen's defence, which soon had the desired effect. Lachlan Mackintosh, chief of Clan Chattan, who was in attendance upon Mary, "sent to Donald MacWilliam, late his tutor, to acquaint

him of the Queen's condition, and next morning the haill name of Clan Chattan in Petty, Strathern, and Strathnairn, came to the town in good order, and undertook the Queen's protection till the rest of the neighbours should come." Soon afterwards, the Munros, Mackenzies, Rosses, and others came to the assistance of the Queen, who now found herself at the head of a considerable force. The siege of the Castle was commenced with great vigour, and on the third day the garrison surrendered. The Governor was hanged over the gate by the Queen's orders, and his head impaled upon the Castle wall. Hearing of the fall of the Castle, and disappointed by the defection of the Mackintoshes of Badenoch, who were persuaded by Lachlan to remain faithful to Mary's cause, Findlater relinquished his idea of seizing the Queen at Inverness, and retired with his forces towards Aberdeen.

The following letter of Randolph's, giving an account of Mary's visit to Inverness, is taken from *Invernessiana* :—

"At the Queen's arrival at Inverness, she purposing to have lodged in the Castle, which pertaineth to herself, and the keeping only to the Earl of Huntly [Lord Gordon], being Sheriff by inheritance, was refused there to have entry, and enforced to lodge in the town. That night, the Castle being summoned to be rendered to the Queen, answer was given by those that kept it, in Lord Gordon's behalf, that, without his command, it should not be delivered. The next day the country assembled to the assistance of the Queen. The Gordons, also, made their friends come out. We looked every hour to what shall become of the matter. We left nothing undone that was needful, and the Gordons not finding themselves so well served, and never amounting to above five hundred men, sent word to those that were within, amounting only to twelve or thirteen able men, to render the Castle, which they did. The captain was hanged, and his head set upon the Castle; some others condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the rest received mercy. In all those garbules, I assure your honour I never saw the Queen merrier; never dismayed; nor, never thought I that stomach to be in her, that I find. She repented nothing but, when the lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watche, that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lye all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway, with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword."

After the taking of the Castle, Mary occupied it for a few

days, and then, "although informed that Huntly watched to intercept her in the woods on the banks of the Spey, she advanced against him, crossed the river, and returned at the head of 3000 men to Aberdeen." Lord Lovat again furnished a princely escort, and his loyalty on the occasion of her visit drew warm expressions of thanks from the grateful Queen. At Corrichie, a few miles from Aberdeen, the Royal army encountered that of Huntly, and a fierce battle ensued, which terminated in the death of that misguided nobleman, and the complete rout of his forces.

The house in Bridge Street, in which Queen Mary resided, is still in existence, and is known by her name. For a hundred and fifty years an extensive wine trade has been carried on in one part of the building, a business for which the commodious arched vaults beneath render it peculiarly well adapted. These vaults are of great age, and there is a tradition that one of them was, at the period of Queen Mary's visit, connected with the Castle by a subterranean passage. The exterior of the house has been greatly modernised, and shows little trace of antiquity, but the remains of a coat of arms on the wall facing the river and a finely sculptured fireplace inside remain to tell of its ancient magnificence when it became the temporary abode of the most beautiful and most unfortunate of Scottish Sovereigns.

H. R. M.

BADGES OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to us on this subject from Battersea:—

I find that the list of the Badges of the Highland Clans, as given in the last number of the *Celtic Magazine*, varies considerably from that given by Chambers in his account of the Highlands, vol. 16 of his "Miscellany of Useful Tracts." The following is his list:—

Buchanan Birch.
Cameron Oak.
Chisholm.....Alder.
Colquhoun.....Hazel.
Cumming.....Common Tallow.
Drummond.....Holly.
Farquharson.....Purple Fox-glove.
Ferguson.....Poplar.
Forbes.....Broom.

Fraser.....Yew; some families
Gordon.....Ivy. (Strawberry.
Graham.....Laurel.
Grant.....Cranberry Heath.
Gunn.....Rosewort.
Lamont.....Crab Apple.
Macallister.....Five Leaved Heath.
Macdonald.....Bell Heath.
Macdonell.....Mountain Heath.

Macdougall.....	Cypress.	Macpherson.....	Variegated Box-wood.
Macfarlane.....	Cloud-berry Bush.	Munro.....	Eagles' Feathers.
Macgregor.....	Pine.	Menzies.....	Ash.
Mackintosh.....	Boxwood.	Murray.....	Juniper.
Mackay.....	Bull-rush.	Ogilvie.....	Hawthorn.
Mackenzie.....	Deer Grass.	Oliphaunt.....	Great Maple.
Mackinnon.....	St John's Wort.	Robertson.....	Fern.
MacIachlan.....	Mountain Ash.	Rose.....	Briar Rose.
Maclean.....	Blackberry Heath.	Ross.....	Bearberries.
Macleod.....	Red Whortleberries.	Sinclair.....	Clover.
Macnab.....	Rose Blackberries.	Stewart.....	Thistle.
Macneil.....	Seaware.	Sutherland.....	Cat's Tail Grass.
Macrae.....	Fir Club Moss.		

If you, or any of your correspondents, could let me know which is most likely to be correct of the two, in the *Celtic Magazine*, I should feel greatly obliged.

In the Gaelic origin of local names, are two places named Kilvean and Torvean. If I had seen them in an English work, I should have taken them to be in Cornwall, vean being the Cornish for little or small, as *cheel vean*, little child; *Truro vean*, a place in the city of Truro. There is also a pile of rocks called Kilmarth Tor, Tor Point, Tor Bay, etc.

LOCHIEL ON THE LOCH-ARKAIG CLEARANCES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—Your *History of the Camerons* naturally possesses greater interest for me than for most people, and while I congratulate you on the ability, and admire the research which has enabled you to add so valuable a contribution to our acquaintance with Highland clans, I hope you will allow me to call attention to one error which occurs in the latter portion of your work, and which, as reflecting unjustly on the policy pursued by my father towards the small tenants on this estate, has caused me some pain. In page 256 the following refers to my father:—"Of him Mr Mitchell says that 'unfortunately he was equally ignorant of the habits of Lochaber and its people' with his father, and that he 'was obliged from his ill-health to reside in England, and the administration of his estates was entrusted to his relative, Sir Duncan Cameron, under whom Mr Belford, a writer in Inverness, acted as factor, Sir Duncan placing implicit confidence in his management. With a view to increasing the rental, Mr Belford followed the then prevalent custom of removing the people and converting the hill sides of Loch-Arkaig into sheep farms.'" I do not know who Mr Mitchell may be, nor what work you here refer to, but as the quotation is inserted without note or comment, it is, of course, to be presumed that the statement is accepted by you as accurate. If your author lived contemporaneously with the events which are supposed to have taken place, but which he must have known never did, his assertion is simply scandalous.

I have before me the estate rental for the year 1832, when my father succeeded.

I there find the following farms, viz.:—Glen-Dessary, Monoquoich, Inverskillivoulin, and North Achnaherrie, held by one man, and entered in the rent roll, as occupied by the heirs of Alexander Cameron. Achnanellan, Glen-Mallie, Achna-saul, Crieff, Salachan, Muick, and Kenmore, seem to have been all in the possession of the heirs of J. Cameron; while Muirlagan, Caillich, Glenkingie, Coanich, West Kenmore, and the whole of Glen-Pean, were occupied by a third tenant, John Cameron. In 1832, therefore, so far from "the hill-sides of Loch-Arkaig being converted into sheep farms," not only these hill-sides, but an immense tract of country besides, probably upwards of 60,000 acres, were in the hands of three tenants.

The clearances of Glen-Dessary and Loch-Arkaig took place thirty years previously, when the estate was in trust, and managed by Sir Ewen Cameron, the father of Sir Duncan, and you will see, therefore, that you have mistaken the date by a whole generation. Of the small tenants and crofters who were removed, some went to Canada, and their grandchildren, no doubt, figure largely among the subscribers to your History. By others were formed the townships of Banavie and Corpach, where their descendants are still to be found, and a few went to Achintore, a small township west of Fort-William. This was at the time when the Caledonian Canal was being made, and presumably the idea was to enable the people to obtain constant employment, though no doubt self-interest, on the part of the proprietor, had some share in determining the policy pursued. The statement that my father entrusted the management of his estate to Sir Duncan Cameron, is, to my certain knowledge, absolutely without foundation. On parish matters the late Lochiel used to consult equally Sir Duncan and Colonel Maclean of Ardgour, both of whom resided permanently in the county, and were well acquainted with local affairs; but he acted entirely on his own judgment in all matters connected with the management of the property. I am certainly not disposed to defend the management at that particular period. Mistakes were undoubtedly made then as they are probably made now; but they arose from want of foresight, not from a lack of generosity, and whoever may be the sufferer, he was certainly not to be found among the small tenants. If to pull his people through the famine of '46—to wipe off subsequently all the arrears on the estate, and then to reduce his rents where he found them too high, and not to raise them where he found them too low—if this constitutes a harsh landlord, in the sense implied in your quotation from Mr Mitchell, then the late Lochiel justly deserves the condemnation which the readers of your History may, I fear, be disposed *unjustly* to bestow on him:

There is, however, a wider application of the lesson to be learnt from the unintentional error into which you have fallen in connection with these clearances. If such mistakes are possible in a history such as that of the Camerons, compiled with care, and after reference to authentic documents, and all other available sources of information, what may be expected from the vague testimony and loose tradition which forms the basis of many of the accusations brought against Highland proprietors in connection with their treatment of crofters? Does not this episode confirm the truth embodied in the following sentence of the Report of the Royal Commission? "Many of the allegations of oppression and suffering with which these pages are painfully loaded, would not bear a searching analysis. Under such a scrutiny, they would be found *erroneous as to time, to place, to persons, to extent, and misconstrued as to intention.*" The accuracy of the next sentence looked at by the same light is equally remarkable. The Report goes on thus—"It does not follow, however, that because these narratives are incorrect in detail, they are incorrect in colour or in kind."

In conclusion, I am bound to admit that I am not, perhaps, as regards the paragraph in your History free from blame myself. I might be supposed to have read the History of the Camerons as it appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, and thus have been able to correct any error before the present volume was published. In truth I did read most of the earlier numbers, but you know from our previous correspondence that I had no papers in my possession which would have been of use in the production of the work, and it appeared to me that for all practical purposes there was nothing to be gained by reading it in parts, when, by waiting a few months, I could read it as a whole. Besides, the mischief was already done when the particular paragraph in question appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, and I should then, as now, have required to ask your courtesy in allowing this letter to be inserted in the next number.—I am, yours faithfully,

DONALD CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

ACHNACARRY, October 18, 1884.

[The work quoted above is "Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands," by the late Mr Joseph Mitchell, C.E., Inverness, the title of which is given in full on the page of the "History of the Camerons" immediately preceding that from which Lochiel makes the quotation of which he complains.—ED. C. M.]

FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P., AND THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

MR FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P., recently addressed a large meeting of his constituents at Inverness, in which he made pungent references regarding the management of certain estates in the Highlands, especially that of the Island of Tiree, belonging to the Duke of Argyll. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh quoted largely from the evidence given before the Royal Commission by those having an intimate acquaintance with the facts. He referred to the manner in which he was attacked by the Duke, when, as a Royal Commissioner, his own mouth was closed, and when he could not reply. The conditions were now changed, and he felt called upon, in the public interest, to refer to the state of matters existing on the Duke's estates in Tiree and elsewhere.

He proceeded to say that immediately after the Commissioners met in Tiree—Lord Napier said at that meeting—

"Assurances have been given in many places by the proprietors and factors, and I will now ask whether there is any one present who will give an assurance with regard to these people." Mr Macdiarmid—"I am local factor for his Grace the Duke of Argyll." Lord Napier then asked—"Do you feel enabled to give an assurance to the people here present that no one will suffer prejudice in consequence of what he says here on this occasion?—No, I cannot give any such assurance. I did not ask for it, and I was not told to give it. Lord Napier—You do not think you are—knowing

the disposition and character of the proprietor of the island—enabled to give such an assurance on your own responsibility? Mr Macdiarmid—I would say the Duke of Argyll won't do anything against any man who will tell the truth. Lord Napier—Are you able or not, from your knowledge of the character of the proprietor, to give a positive assurance that no prejudice will occur to anyone on account of what is said here to-day? Mr Macdiarmid—I am not going to say that. Lord Napier, addressing the witness, then said—It is not in the power of the Commission to give you any assurance of the kind. The Commission cannot interfere between you and your proprietor, or between you and the law. Whatever you state therefore now will be at your own risk and on your own responsibility. But from what we know of the character of the Duke of Argyll we cannot believe, we do not believe, that any prejudice could occur to you on account of what you say. The Witness Macdougall—We live in that part of Scotland where most of that suffering is taking place, and oppression and slavery. We are poor people. We cannot give any of the statements that we came here prepared to make unless we receive the assurance that no crofter will be evicted from his croft, or cottar put out of his house, for telling what we have to tell; and that is the truth, and nothing but the truth.”

Now, gentlemen, continued Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, after this the whole proceedings of the Commission in the Island of Tiree were going to collapse, because we could not protect the people. He then explained how a letter from the Chamberlain was afterwards produced by the local factor, and proceeded—What is the position of the Island of Tiree with regard to the distribution of land? The island yields about £4000 in rental, and how is it divided? Five large farms yielding about one-fourth of the rental are in the hands of the ground-officer of the Duke of Argyll, or a brother of his, and more in possession of a late ground-officer. That is the distribution of the land, and what do you find in consequence? In 1883 the state of poverty in the island was so great that public charity had to be solicited and distributed. That, you will agree with me, was a condition of things wholly disgraceful to a man like the Duke of Argyll. I can understand the use of, and I fully approve of, proprietors having on their lands a farm where the best stock of all kinds and the best of everything is kept, so that it may be a model and an example to the farmers in the neighbourhood. To that extent proprietors are entitled to have farms, to that extent possession is justifiable, but I submit that a proprietor has no right to put his factor into farms, and so monopolise a great part of the estate while scores of decent people are crying for land.

I make another charge, and I think it is one of the very gravest character. It has come out that no person upon the Duke of Argyll's Highland estates paying a rental of under £100 a-year has a lease. They are all tenants at will. I am not now speaking of the crofters and cottars. There is no lease given to any man upon the estate of the Duke paying under £100 of rent. There is another thing ten times worse. There are no estate regulations upon these island estates. Now, the most miserable proprietor in the Highlands who is able to keep a factor, or whether he is or not, has estate regulations, so that the tenants know what they are about. The Duke's Chamberlain admitted there were no estate regulations, and it comes to this, that all paying under £100 rent are tenants at will. It has been proved that many years ago, under a rule of the previous factor, two documents were brought round. In respect to one of them the people were told—Sign this document, which says I will submit myself entirely to the will of the Duke and his factor; the other was a summons of removal—Out you go. Let me read you what the Chairman brought out about the regulations from the Chamberlain. “Q.—I presume there were regulations?

A.—I am not aware. I don't think so. Q.—Were there any Campbell regulations? A.—Not so far as I am aware. I don't think so. Q.—Are we to understand there were never any printed regulations before your time. A.—Not on this estate. Q.—Are there ones in Tiree? A.—There will be, I expect soon." I asked him—"There being no printed regulations and no leases, how did the people know under what regulations they stood? A.—I don't know. Q.—Probably you saw it was rather a hardship that the people did not know under what rule they were? A.—I thought it desirable that there ought to be regulations."

I wish now, continued Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, to give a short quotation from the evidence as to the document which the people were obliged to sign. There was a delegate named Macneil. He is asked this question:—

"Do you know anybody here present who actually signed that document in which they promised to obey the factor's wishes? A.—Yes. Donald Macdonald. (To Donald Macdonald)—Did you sign that document promising to obey whatever the factor desired? A.—Yes. Q.—How did you know what the contents of the paper were—was the paper read over to you aloud? A.—All we know is that the paper was not read to us at all, but the ground officer had a lot of notices to quit in one hand, and this paper in another, and we were told that the contents of the paper were that we should require to obey anything that the Duke of Argyll or his factor would ask us to do. Q.—Was it written or printed? A.—It was written. Q.—Was Macquarrie the ground-officer? A.—Yes. Q.—Is he alive yet? A.—Yes. Q.—Is he here? A.—He was here; he may be here yet. Q.—Was that in the time of the present Duke or his predecessor? A.—In the time of the present Duke. Q.—Do you know of anybody who can read and who saw the paper himself and read it? A.—I am not aware of any who read the paper before he put his hand to it. Q.—Was your knowledge of the contents of the paper solely derived from the statements of the ground-officer? A.—The factor was not present upon the occasion. Our only information regarding the paper was what the ground-officer told us at the time. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh—Was each tenant obliged to sign a separate paper, or did several of them sign one paper? A.—I believe it was the same paper that every crofter in Tiree signed. Q.—Did you put your cross to it? A.—I believe I signed my name. I can sign my name. The Chairman—Did you sign it? A.—I did not sign it myself, but everybody in the township where I lived signed it. (To Donald Macdonald)—How did you know that the papers in the man's other hand were summonses to quit? A.—He told us."

I have another charge—another complaint to make—against the Duke of Argyll. It is a question as to the rents of crofts, which is well known. In a statement handed in by Mr James Wyllie, the chamberlain, at Glasgow, he says that what the Duke of Argyll considers the true value of the crofts is the rent which is offered for them when they become vacant. That rather staggered the Commissioners, and the witness was asked—

"With respect to the rents, I see you state that the Duke considers that the true value of these crofts is the rent which is offered for them as they become vacant? A.—Yes. Q.—That is actually what determines the value of the croft? A.—Yes. Q.—Not so much per cow or so much per acre? A.—Of course I make my own valuation besides that. Q.—But the true value of the croft is what can be got for it? A.—Yes. Q.—In a great part of the places we visited, both managers of estates and others declared there was such a run upon these crofts that there were people ready to give beyond what the true value was. You would consider that the value is not what the true value was. You would consider that the value is not what might be called the real value, but what could be got for it? A.—Yes, what they bring when they become vacant. Q.—So that even the full market value can be got for a croft? A.—Yes. Q.—And the full market value is taken for the croft? A.—Yes, I suppose so."

I may now give the examination of two witnesses, Donald Campbell and Donald Maclean upon another point. It is only an illustration of many other things which have not been so clearly brought out in other cases as here—

“Q.—Do they get money for what they do? [from the Tíree Seaweed Company.] A.—No, they do not get money, and those of them who have been asking money for the last year or so only get £2 per ton in money; they would get at the rate of £4 if they took goods. Q.—But although the goods were stated to be worth £4, perhaps the goods were not worth more than £2 in another shop? A.—Perhaps not even £2. Q.—I suppose these people do not like to be treated in that way? A.—No, they do not; they are badly treated in many a way.”

With regard to the Island of Tíree—and Tíree is a representative island—I desire to point out that the population has very much decreased within late years. The rental has increased enormously. A number of your economists, among them the Duke of Argyll, are fond of quoting the opinion of Sir John Macneill, in his report at the time of the destitution, with regard to emigration, and say it is a very good thing. I admit that Sir John recommended emigration. But he recommended that, when emigration took place, the places of those who went away should be given to those who remained. This is exactly as it should be, because there is no use clearing away the people if those who remain are to be left as before. I wish to narrate what we heard from the doctor in Tíree, and he is a man of considerable position; a man whose sympathies are with the people, but who would not give an opinion unless he were very clear upon the point. Well, what does Dr Buchanan say? I asked—

“Are you in favour of large properties with large populations, when the proprietor does not reside amongst his people? A.—No. Q.—How often has the Duke of Argyll been in Tíree? A.—Lately, I think, he has been here every August. Q.—Within the last four or five years, how long does he stay? A.—A day, or, perhaps, two days. Q.—Does he go about speaking to the people? A.—He does. Q.—Can you trace any benefit in the position of the people by his appearances here? A.—No, I see no change from his coming and going. Q.—What is the character of the people of Tíree generally; is it a place where crime is comparatively unknown? A.—Crime is unknown; the people are quiet and peaceable. Q.—Do you yourself find satisfaction in going out and in among them? A.—I do; I never get an uncivil word. Q.—Was not the idea that must have been prevailing in the mind of Sir John Macneill, or those he consulted, when suggesting that the population should be reduced, that the reduced population should have the full benefit of the Island of Tíree? A.—That would be the sense of it. Q.—Can you instance any case within your own recollection, or have you heard of any lands being added to the crofter class? A.—No. Q.—So then, any pretence of saying that emigration is good for the country would be of no value unless it benefits those who remain behind? A.—No; certainly not. Q.—Supposing, for instance, that farm was to be added to large farm in the Island of Tíree as people went away, you might reduce the population to twenty people? A.—You might.”

Now, gentlemen, in the Island of Tíree at this moment the great bulk of the people are under no law whatever, but under the entire power and will of the Duke. Then the land in this island is not properly distributed; what is possessed by crofters is rack-rented, and many of the people, in 1883, had to submit to the stigma of receiving public charity, a state of matters which the Duke of Argyll ought to be ashamed of. There is at present in that island a most unequal and unfair distribution of the land; and it cannot and should not longer prevail.

I will say one word in passing in regard to the Ross of Mull. Whenever a man dies, even although the son may be nearly twenty-one years of age, the widow is sure to go out. In the case of poor Widow Macphail, and although she had a son sixteen or seventeen years of age, she was put out much against her will, and her holding given to some official or parochial officer; and so strong was the feeling of fear felt that she could not get any one to write a letter in her favour. At last one decent man (with whom I shook hands) was got to write a letter to the Duke of Argyll, and, to conceal the authorship, it was written in imitation of print. In

Ardtun in the Ross of Mull there was extreme poverty. The population in 1841 of the Duke's estate of the Ross of Mull was 4113, and in 1881 it was reduced to 1990, less than one-half, whereas, at the same time, the rental increased enormously. Nothing can be a greater curse to the country than to find the population of any part of the country rapidly decreasing, while in the same period the rental rises enormously. I have said that money was spent, public charity was distributed, in the early part of 1883 in the Duke of Argyll's island estates. There is one thing I must refer to in connection with this fact. The amount of money so distributed was not very large. I admit that; but I also say it was a contemptible sum for the Duke of Argyll to have permitted to be taken. The money was spread over a very large number of people, so that the poverty existing over the country was undoubted. That was the deplorable state of matters revealed to us in our investigations. And no man, far less a man in the position of the Duke of Argyll—no man even in a much humbler position—should have permitted public charity to be distributed among the people upon his estate. It shows the absence of a proper and fair administration, and I think it is a state of matters which will no longer be permitted by the country.

Why is it necessary for me to make reference to individuals? Because if you state generalities, people may say there is nothing in them. Therefore it is necessary to give specific instances.

I am obliged to come to the county of Inverness and make a few references to another case. I wish to draw attention to the matter because unfortunately our evidence is so long and it is so expensive to purchase that everybody cannot get at it. And unless the matter is placed before the people, iterated and reiterated, the danger is that these intolerable grievances may be allowed to sleep. I refer to the case of South Uist and Barra, and I must again state that I have no personal feeling with regard to individuals. With regard to South Uist, her ladyship, Lady Cathcart, has been good enough to send away a number of people, giving them £100 and so on, taking their obligations, however, for repayment, it is said. I asked the factor—Will you give them £100 in order to enable them to make a living at home? He said—No, no. But the giving away of this money in this way is only a thing that can be done by a millionaire, can only have an infinitesimal effect, and be hurtful to others. But is it necessary to send away people from South Uist? On this you will observe that I dissented from my colleagues, and said that no necessity for emigration existed, and I did so because I was not satisfied that a proper distribution of the land had occurred. The best and greatest part of South Uist, gentlemen, is divided into eleven large farms, three of which—viz., Kilbride, South Loch-Boisdale, and Bornish, are in the hands of three brothers named Ferguson, all very respectable people, and Gerinish is occupied by Mrs Macdonald. I come to the farm of Milton, and I find that the tenant, Maclean, is married to a sister of the wife of the factor, Mr Ronald Macdonald. In the next, Drimsdale, the tenant, the parish minister, is married to a sister of the above Maclean; and on the sixth, Nunton, the tenant is married to a sister of the said Maclean. There was a farm called Drumore, which formerly was in the possession of a gentleman named Taylor, whose wife was a sister of Mrs Maclean, but it is said Mr Taylor gave offence, and he was obliged to quit. Another important farm, which was the residence of Macdonald of Clanranald—the farm of Ormiclate—is in the hands of Mr Ronald Macdonald, the factor, who lives in Aberdeenshire. Creogarry and Drumore are in the hands of the proprietor. It is perfectly absurd to go and turn out the poor people without re-allocation, without doing any good to those that remain. These people are Roman Catholics. Now, let me say that these Roman

Catholics, belonging to the ancient faith—I have known them in Lochaber—are people for whom I have the highest respect. A more loyal and peaceful people than the old Catholics in the Highlands do not exist over the whole breadth of Scotland. What about the emigrants sent away? What has been done for the Roman Catholic emigrants sent to Manitoba? The Roman Catholic Bishop of the North-West had not a single Gaelic-speaking priest to spare. At one time there was a talk about Mr Mackintosh's going out among them, but circumstances prevented, and for him a contribution of £20 was suggested on the part of the proprietrix. And that is the whole provision made for these Roman Catholic emigrants, sent away to the wildest parts of North America. This is a matter which should be sharply and severely looked after.

Now, did time permit, I could say a good deal about other places which we visited. We found many deplorable cases in Skye and in South Harris. After our meeting at Obe, Lord Napier and I drove through the southern part of the island. Hardly a house did we see, but we saw beautiful land about Luskintyre, Scaristavore, etc., at one time occupied by a flourishing people. We had no time, unfortunately, to go and see that interesting place Rodel, which is so much associated with the name of one of the most noted of the Macleod family. But let me read one extract with regard to Rodel, which is, I think, enough to bring the tears to the eyes of any one, and particularly when they are made to you by people who were themselves actors. The island belongs to the family of Dunmore; but they are not connected with the more serious evictions which have taken place. The island belonged at the time to the Macleods, not the family of Macleod of Macleod. The witness, John Macdiarmid, an old man of 88, said—

"I will tell you how Rodel was cleared. There were 150 hearths in Rodel. Forty of these paid rent. When young Macleod came home with his newly-married wife to Rodel, he went away to show his wife the place, and twenty of the women of Rodel came and met them and danced a reel before them, so glad were they to see them. By the time the year was out—twelve months from that day—these twenty women were weeping and wailing, their houses unroofed and their fires quenched by order of the estate. I could not say who was to blame, but before the year was out the 150 fires were quenched. Some of the more capable of these tenants were sent to Bernera, and others were crowded into the bays on the east side of Harris, small places that kept three families in comfort, where now there were eight. Some of the cottars that were among these 150 were for a whole twelvemonth in the sheilings before they were able to provide themselves with permanent residences. Others of them got, through the favour of Mrs Campbell of Strond, the site of a house upon the seashore, upon places reclaimed by themselves." That is a pitiable story.

And now, with regard to myself. I have been in Parliament now for ten full years, nearly eleven years, and I have seen a good deal of the outs and ins of the work. In going to Parliament I had no personal object to serve, and I have no personal object to serve now. I say this honestly. I do not think that any member should serve for an unconscionable length of time, as constituencies have a right to change, and get the services of others who are willing to act; but upon this occasion, and mainly on account of the state of the land laws, and believing that I may be of some use with regard to the settlement of the question which is coming before the country, I do intend to claim your suffrages in the future. Now, gentlemen, I want to say this one thing—the question of the future, with the increased representation, lies in your own hands, and I hold this, and I say this, without regard to individuals, that whenever the franchise is reduced you must in the whole Highlands, beginning

with Orkney and Shetland, down to Dumbarton, you must send to Parliament men who will make this the main point, and you must declare you will have no others to represent you—and if you do so, you must rest assured that there will be a speedy solution of the question. There is a deal of agitation and a deal of longing and waiting on the part of the honest people in various parts of the Highlands and Islands. Some of you, gentlemen, may regard me as extreme in this matter, and others may regard my friend the Dean of Guild as extreme, but I tell you that there are other men with far more extreme views than either of us going about and expressing them; and if our moderate demands are not conceded, then more extreme views will become more and more prominent. Mr Gladstone has stated in his speech in Edinburgh that the report of the Crofter Commission was a most valuable one, and would receive the earnest attention of the Government as soon as possible. It is for the representatives of the Highland people to press that upon the Prime Minister, and not to allow it to fall through; and I say for my own part, so far as I can, the Prime Minister will be made to stick to it.

Dr Mackenzie, in moving a vote of confidence in the hon. member, said—Mr Fraser-Mackintosh has shown us this evening that he is well qualified to be the member for the Highlands. I think that no one with a heart in his bosom could listen to the tale—the harrowing tale—which he has told us this evening without condemning in the strongest terms the system which has worked such havoc among our people. I, myself, in my professional capacity, often come across crofters who had been evicted from the fertile straths and glens, and have come into the town to spend the remains—the miserable remains—of their existence in an humble garret. I think that Inverness should take a special interest in this question, for by this question Inverness will more or less stand or fall. Inverness is not a manufacturing town. We have no manufacturing industries—we most depend more or less on the country surrounding us, and we cannot see that country deprived of its resources, for if it is, what will become of our shopkeepers, what will become of our tradesmen—yes, gentlemen, what will become of our professional men, for there will be no people to attend to? What has been the cause of the falling off in Cromarty, Invergordon, Dornoch, and other northern towns? Simply that the surrounding country had been depopulated, and one or two large farms have taken the place of a large number of small tenants. These people who are evicted to make room for these large farmers who may or may not patronise us—these people, I say, are obliged to come into these towns, and what is the consequence? They become paupers, and we, the inhabitants of Inverness, have to pay poor-rates, while the proprietors who evicted them are receiving £1 an acre of rent and more for the land which those people cultivated and brought to its present fertile state. That is a preposterous state of things, which cannot be allowed to continue. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh has told us this evening how he has taken up this question as a member of the Crofter Commission, and he has also told us his views on the franchise question, and with regard to the latter, I can only say that when the crofters get their votes they will show themselves that they will only return to Parliament people who will help Mr Fraser-Mackintosh to bring on and carry a good Land Bill.

THE STORNOWAY CROFTER DEMONSTRATION.—The great Demonstration held in Stornoway on the 16th of October last, and its lessons, will be dealt with in our next issue, as well as the partisan—the poisoned—sources of the false information supplied by the whole of the Scottish press regarding it. The manner in which the press is supplied with this class of news from the North will be fully exposed.